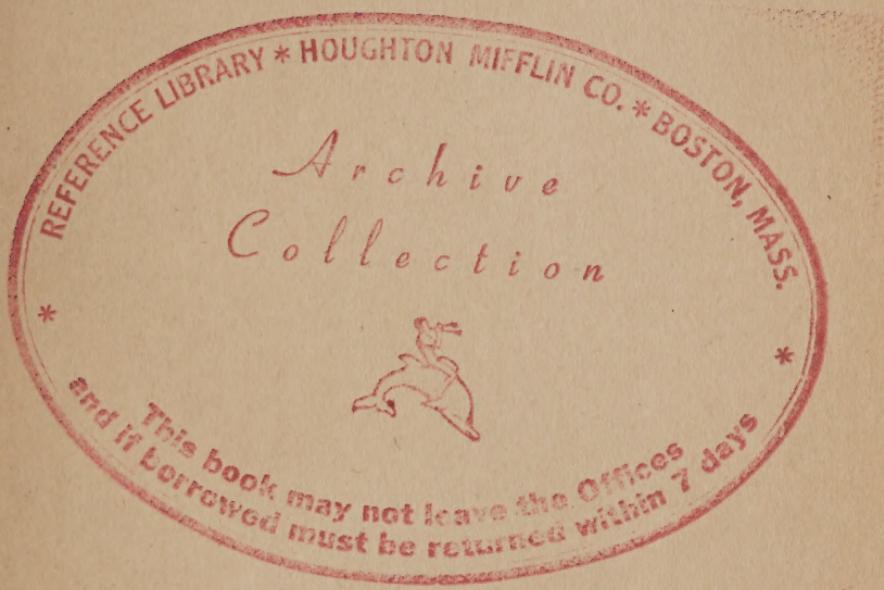


Some Letters of
AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER





SOME LETTERS OF
AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER



Augustus Peabody Gardner
From a photograph by Curtis Bell, New York

SOME LETTERS OF
AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER

EDITED BY
CONSTANCE GARDNER

With Portraits



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1920

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TO

CONSTANCE GARDNER MINOT

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INTRODUCTION

AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER was born in Boston on November 5, 1865. He received his early education at Hopkinson's School in Boston and at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and was graduated from Harvard in 1886. After graduation he made his permanent home in Hamilton and was in business in Boston. In 1892 he married Constance Lodge, only daughter of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

In 1898, at the outbreak of the war with Spain, he received a Commission as Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General, and was assigned to the Staff of Major-General James H. Wilson. He served in the Porto Rican campaign and was recommended for a Brevet Majority, "for gallant and meritorious services," though he did not actually receive his Brevet rank till some years afterwards.

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1899 he was elected to the Massachusetts State Senate and served two terms. In 1902 he was elected to Congress from the Sixth District of Massachusetts. His service in Congress was continuous until he resigned on May 22, 1917, to enter the United States Army. He was commissioned as Colonel and Adjutant-General, and was assigned to the Staff of Major-General J. Franklin Bell, M.H., commanding the Department of the Northeast, at Governor's Island, New York. Here he remained until August, 1917, when he was ordered to report to Major-General Francis J. Kernan, D.S.M., commanding the 31st Division, at Camp Wheeler, Georgia.

In December, 1917, he was, at his own request, transferred to the line, which necessitated his losing two grades in rank. On December 8 he came to Washington and was "demoted." He was then sworn in again as a Major and was assigned to the command of a battalion in the 121st (Georgia) Infan-

INTRODUCTION

try. He served a month with his battalion and was then stricken with pneumonia. He died at the Base Hospital, Camp Wheeler, Georgia, on January 14, 1918. He was fifty-two years old.

C. G.

SOME LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER

I

THE SPANISH WAR

To Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE

Boston, April 6, 1898

DEAR MR. LODGE:

GEORGE LYMAN¹ has just read me a long letter which he has written you on the situation as it is at this end. What he says about the sentiment here, I am afraid, is true. Eugene Thayer is the only man this morning that I have seen who felt at all warlike. Even the Hamilton carpenter with whom I talked this morning said he could n't see how any sensible man could want war. Whether this anti-war feeling is manufac-

¹ Hon. George H. Lyman, a leading Republican in Massachusetts, and at one time Collector of the Port of Boston.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

tured or not I cannot tell, but I am afraid it exists.

Of course it is for you to decide as seems best to you. I dare say there are a great many aspects of the situation which I cannot see; but I wish to say as strongly as possible that, if you decide to oppose the President, you will have at least one man who will do all in his power to uphold you. Of course, you know perfectly well that anything which hurts you politically finishes me as well. But this does not alter my views as to the right and wrong of the question.

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

To His Wife

Chattanooga, Tenn.

May 26, 1898

WE had a most interesting trip down, as Fitzhugh Lee's¹ car went on our train from

¹ Major-General Fitzhugh Lee, a nephew of General Robert E. Lee.

TO HIS WIFE

Danville to Salisbury, and there were crowds to greet him at every station. At 1 A.M., as we were peacefully sleeping, a detail from a Young Ladies' College at Asheville, N.C., got on the sleeping-car and did not subside until they had given us the college yell several times.

We arrived here in the morning, put on our uniforms, and reported. I was then turned over to General Wilson,¹ where a tent was pitched for me and I spent the night. The General, I think, regards me in the light of a sacred white elephant.

The camp is lovely with cool breezes and shade trees among the mountains. I slept last night under a blanket.

There is another amateur in the staff awkward squad !

¹ Major-General James H. Wilson, a cavalry commander with General Philip Sheridan in the War of the Rebellion and the captor of Jefferson Davis, Commanding General of the Sixth and subsequently of the First Army Corps in the war with Spain.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

To His Wife

Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps

Camp G. H. Thomas, Ga.

May 29, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I HAVE not had a second to myself since I last wrote you; but as today is Sunday I shall be able to spare as much as one hour in the twenty-four.

Fortunately I have to bend my whole mind into learning my business, and I am told that I am getting ahead very well. I was none too well for two days, having caught a cold and sore throat. I am feeling tip-top now, however, and the cold did not interfere with my working fourteen hours or more a day.

There is a good deal of suffering among the troops, I am sorry to say. Insufficient water is one of the causes; but food supply is not yet well organized. Thousands of the men have no uniform nor much of anything else. There seems to be plenty of tenting and transportation, however.

TO HIS WIFE

I give you my work yesterday:

A.M.

5.30 Reveille. Dressed, fixed camp,
1,000,000 odd jobs.

6.30 Breakfast. 1,000,000 odd jobs.

7.30-8.30 Fatigue duty. (Bossing job of policing and cleaning camp.)

8.30-9.30 Rode on business to Ordnance and Quartermaster's Headqrts.

9.30-10 Fatigue duty. (Raising hell generally with Quartermaster Sergeant and Police Detail for not working quick enough or thoroughly enough.)

10-11 Odd jobs connected with officers' mess.

11-12 Rode on visit to 8th Mass. (about 2 miles).

P.M.

12-12.20 Dinner.

12.20-4 Adj't. Gen'l office work. Briefing, endorsing, etc.

4-5 Odd jobs.

5-6 Office work and ride inspecting drill.

6-7 Inspecting parade with Gen'l Wilson, which includes riding furiously

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

all over Hell's Kitchen to find all sorts of people who are riding all over the same Kitchen to find other people.

- 7-8 Changing clothes and supper.
- 8-8.30 Odd jobs and visit of Col. and Lt. Col. of 12th N.Y.
- 8.30-9 (Tattoo.) Office work.
- 9-10.30 Sword drill and odd studies from manuals.
- 10.30-11.30 Hat talk with the night owl officers.
- 11.45 Downy.

General Wilson is a remarkable man. I have not time to write more. Best love to you and baby.

TO HIS WIFE

Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps

Camp Geo. H. Thomas, Ga.

June 2, 1898

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE:

IT makes a man exceedingly proud of his countrymen to see thousands on thousands of lads with clean-cut faces and clean habits all

TO HIS WIFE

looking exactly alike whether from North, South, East or West.

Things are still so disorganized that rations, clothes, etc., do not always arrive, and most of the boys are dead broke and will not get their pay (Lord and the Department know why) until July 1. The consequence is a good deal of hardship. *Between ourselves* you have no conception of the inefficiency of the Department and resulting indignation among the officers and misery among a few of the men.

My eyes have gone back on me so I cannot write you a long letter; but otherwise I am well and should be happy if you and baby were here.

I wish you would make me a present of a cavalry sabre and have it marked. The nasty little thing I got in Washington is worthless and bent and gone up spout generally. You do not need to get any particular kind; but just a good substantial sabre, marked from you to me.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

The enlisted men are many of them from the best families of the country. One of the orderlies here owns a yacht. A corporal in the camp is son of a West Point graduate and general of the Civil War. There is a private in the 2d Wisconsin who is a West Point graduate and was nine years an officer in the Army.

To His Wife

Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps

Camp Geo. H. Thomas, Ga.

June 5, 1898

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE.

THANK the lamb for her pansy and give her a kiss for me. I enclose a bit of mistletoe which a private in the 5th Illinois has just given me.

Your question of whether we are likely to go to Cuba necessitates my making a rather complicated explanation.

General Wilson is commander of the 6th Corps, an organization which consists merely

TO HIS WIFE

of a staff of a few men; but as yet no troops. For the present he is also commander of the 1st Division of the 1st Corps under General Brooke who commands the 1st Corps.

Now several things may happen. If the war is to continue till winter a Sixth Corps will be needed, and only a few days' observation is required to convince any one that such a Corps organized by General Wilson could give double discount and beat any other corps here. This work of organization will take several months. The troops that have left here, presumably for Cuba, *were not fit to go.*

Now General Wilson will probably decide shortly whether he will organize a corps of his own or get a command in a half-fit organization bound for Cuba earlier and unlikely to do him much credit. He has told me that he will take me with him whatever he does, unless I can better myself. If I could get a line commission in the 8th Massachusetts, I might take it, in which case I might be sent to Cuba

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

any time or not till winter. I am just as likely to guess wrong as right; but all the Regular Army men here advise me to stick to General Wilson. If the enemy were strong, of course that would be best, as his corps, if he organized it himself, would be hot stuff. I will post you on any change in the situation.

I had a terrible day yesterday. The Adjutant-General went to town for the day and I took his duties and responsibilities. I worked from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. (ten minutes out for dinner). Everybody works like mad here.

I saw a review of a division (nine thousand men) yesterday. It was an impressive sight.

Majors Flagler¹ and Reber² are my two greatest friends on the Staff. They are about my age, both regulars and both tough.

¹ Major Clement A. Flagler, U.S.A., Engineers. War rank in 1918, Major-General.

² Major Samuel Reber, U.S.A., Signal Corps. Colonel in 1916, now dead.

TO HIS WIFE

To His Wife

*Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps
Camp Geo. H. Thomas, Ga.*

June 12, 1898

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE:

WE had a review of our division yesterday with 6000 men under arms. It was a grand sight.

It is awfully hard to tell where we are at. It looks a little as if the Government meant to leave General Wilson without troops.

If I can get into the line in the 8th Massachusetts as a Second Lieutenant, I think I shall perhaps resign my commission as a Staff officer. I think I can get a lieutenancy in the 14th New York; but shall probably not take it, as I am as well off here. I think the 8th Massachusetts much more likely to get to Cuba than General Wilson. Staff duty I like; but of course the fighting line is preferable. One is about as dangerous as the other.

The health of the troops is improving fast, I am glad to say, and the division is progressing fast.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

I am studying infantry drill a great deal so that if I get into the line I may know my business, and am working hard at other things.

Best love to yourself and baby.

To His Wife

Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps

Camp Geo. H. Thomas, Ga.

June 19, 1898

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I AM getting quite thin on the hard work; but not getting hard, as I have very little time for exercise. I wear my glasses a good deal now; but I think the trouble with my eyes is in the nature of pink-eye.

The sword is very much admired by every one here and I think it a beauty.

I think my chance to get into the 8th Massachusetts will peter out; first, because the expected vacancy is no longer expected; second, because the General jumped on me when I suggested the scheme. If my eyes give out, however, I have got to get into the line.

TO HIS WIFE

I get a good many pleasant things said to me about the way my work is done; but this is largely accounted for by the fact that all the political appointments start with the presumption of incompetence.

The 6th Corps troops will begin to arrive about the first of the month and then we shall see things hum. The General is head and shoulders above all the rest in competence and his command will be a hummer.

To His Wife

*Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps
Camp Geo. H. Thomas, Ga.
June 24, 1898*

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE:

THERE is a rumor here that the 8th Massachusetts is to go at once to Santiago. The Captain of the Salem Company has resigned and the vacancy (between ourselves strictly) has been offered to Jacque Peabody¹ whose father and grandfather were captains of the

¹ Captain Jacob C. R. Peabody, of Salem.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Salem Company. If he declines, it will probably be offered to me, and I shall accept it if I am allowed to. In case orders were received to move before Jacque's answer arrives, it will be offered to me and I shall try to get my discharge by telegraph and accept it. Of course, I shall keep you informed by wire if anything happens.

The land battle in Cuba has driven every one here wild with anxiety to get off. The 6th Corps will begin to receive troops about July 1. I expect the regiment Frosty¹ is in will be in the Corps. I fancy that what General Wilson is counting on is being the man to take Havana at the end of the year; but I should rather take my chances with the boys from Essex County.

There is no disguising the fact, I am awfully homesick and do not grow any less so.

Love to baby and heaps for yourself.

¹ Frank Ravenel Frost, of Charleston, South Carolina. A classmate of Captain Gardner.

TO HIS WIFE

TO HIS WIFE

July 3, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE :

MY chance in the 8th Massachusetts fell through owing to Jacque Peabody's acceptance of the vacant captaincy. We are still here, and the Lord knows when we shall get away, certainly not for a week. Meanwhile other men are doing something.

I send you a photograph with names written on back in another package. It is pretty good. I also enclose my first pay. Buy something for yourself with it. Next month's pay will be devoted to little Constance, unless I am short of money.

All the men are terribly disappointed about the delay in moving.

By the way, Colonel Pew, of the 8th Massachusetts, told me yesterday that he thought it would be a good thing if the Volunteer Aid¹ sent money instead of their next ship-

¹ Mrs. Gardner was working with the Massachusetts Volunteer Aid Association.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

ment. Express charges are enormous and Chattanooga and the Commissary Department sell everything. The Commissary stuff is of the highest quality at government contract prices.

Congressman Moody is here staying for a day or two with the 8th.

To His Wife

Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps

Charleston, S.C.

July 9, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I AM starting to write you this tonight as I think it possible that our transports may arrive tomorrow, in which case everything will be in a rush.

I have not had a minute since I have come here and my bedroom now looks like a scene from "Secret Service," strewn with telegrams and papers, saddles, ammunition, and three typewriters. I have, at all events, the satisfaction of feeling that I am playing a

TO HIS WIFE

distinct part in getting this expedition through. Although I have been nominally relieved as Division Adjutant, I am actually acting in that capacity. We expected our two brigades to go in the *Harvard*, *Yale*, and *Columbia*; but the 6th Massachusetts went in the *Yale* and part of the 6th Illinois in the *Columbia*. The rest of the 6th Illinois goes tomorrow in the *Rita* which we have fitted up for the purpose in two days. She is one of the Spanish prizes and I send you an egg-cup which Colonel Biddle,¹ of our Staff, found on board. He was chief engineer in charge of the work. We have only one brigade of our division here, viz., 2d and 3d Wisconsin and 16th Pennsylvania. The second brigade (4th Ohio, 4th Pennsylvania and 3d Illinois) will follow us and perhaps our third brigade (1st and 3d Kentucky and 5th Illinois). We shall sail on the transports *Grande Duchesse* and *No. 30*, when they arrive, probably tomorrow. The

¹ Colonel (now Major-General) John Biddle, U.S.A., Engineers.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

second brigade will go later on the *Resolute* and *Harvard* (probably).

This is a beautiful old town and every one proffers hospitality which I have no time to accept. Frosty is at Macon, Georgia, a captain in the Immunes.

I think the heat is tremendously exaggerated. There is a cool breeze here near the water, and even at Camp Thomas the heat never approached the unbearable stage. The thermometer, of course, is high, and I am at this moment, though I have nothing on, wringing with perspiration; but it is not oppressive.

I do not know what I shall look like when I get back from Cuba; but I assure you I am almost gaunt now. I sent you a photograph of almost the whole Staff, where I look comparatively thin; but it is nothing to what I am now.

I felt very badly on hearing that Morton Henry¹ had been wounded. I hope it was not

¹ Captain (now Colonel) Morton J. Henry, volunteer in the war with Spain and now in the Regular Army.

TO HON. H. C. LODGE

severe; but it is better to be wounded than not to get into the scrap. We are scared to death that Santiago will fall before we get there. If it does we hope to go at once to Porto Rico and then organize the 6th Corps for a move against Havana.

To Hon. H. C. Lodge

Charleston, S.C.

July 12, 1898

DEAR MR. LODGE:

OUR transports are just in and I suppose we shall soon be off, with our equipment in a very unsatisfactory state. It seems a great pity, in view of the necessity which certainly exists according to the Regular officers who are just back from Santiago for steam launches, that we cannot be allowed to have them on the say-so of General Ludington.¹ Of course, you understand that there is no way for General Wilson to approach the Secretary

¹ Brigadier-General M. I. Ludington, Quartermaster-General. Retired as Major-General.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

of War or the President officially. Pack-mule transportation is ridiculously inadequate, and altogether I feel that, although we are equipped as well as some other troops, nevertheless our equipment is not a proper one and I doubt if it is ever made so.

Judging by the situation, as it is depicted to us by officers returning here, I should think it very unlikely that Santiago would fall before we get there, which leaves one crumb of comfort in an otherwise not very satisfactory prospect. The 8th Massachusetts, which is still at Camp Thomas, is in surprisingly good shape, considering the fact that up to recently they have been in a division commanded by incapable volunteer officers. I think that Colonel Pew and Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey deserve the greatest credit for saving the situation.

With best love to the family, I am

Very sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

TO HIS WIFE

P.S. Since writing the above one of the transports has again put to sea under orders from the Navy Department.

To His Wife

Charleston, S.C.

July 15, 1898

EVERY one here is frightfully dispirited at the sudden change in orders. You can't find a man who cares a damn whether there is yellow fever in Santiago or not, or who experienced any pleasure at the news of surrender. It certainly is pretty tough after the tremendous efforts we have made in preparation.

It is now thought that we shall form a part of a Porto Rico expedition; but every one feels that it will fall through some way or other. We may be ordered in five minutes to go to Newport News or Fernandina or back again to Camp Thomas.

I have had very little to do since the order to stop the movement came; but up to that time the work was tremendous.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Our things are still on board the transport awaiting orders; but none seem to be in a hurry to come. Our command has gathered a lot of barnacles here, stray officers, small detachments of engineers, signalmen, etc.; drunks left over from troops that have gone away, men left in charge of horses, Cuban representatives, and every sort and condition of military concomitants.

They had a dance here last night (fancy a dance in this latitude on July 14!) in which the Commanding General and some members of his Staff tripped the light fantastic.

To His Wife

On Board U.S. Transport, No. 30

At Sea. July 24, 1898

Sunday

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

WE left Charleston on the evening of the 20th (Wednesday); but did not get outside the bar till morning. The heat was something terrific that night; but the voyage has

TO HIS WIFE

been cool and smooth since then. This is extremely fortunate, as we are 1500 men packed like sardines, and if there were a storm most of us would have to be below decks with no ventilation to speak of.

At night the decks are so covered with sleeping men that it is almost impossible to move around. I have slept either on the deck itself or in a hammock on deck every night, though some of the officers have braved the terrors of the bunks below.

The work of preparation in Charleston was tremendous; but we are now having a delightful loaf.

The *Grande Duchesse* with the 2d Wisconsin on board is alongside and *Transport No. 21* with the 16th Pennsylvania is supposed to be a few hours behind with our wagons and mules. We have no convoy; but the delivery of this letter, which will probably go back on this transport, will prove our safe arrival.

I am very well and all ready for service

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

of any kind. We do not know whether a landing has been effected nor whether the Navy is at Porto Rico to protect our landing; but we suppose it to be so.

The 3d Wisconsin is on this ship and the men are in good shape; though I am sorry to say that typhoid fever has raised the deuce with the 2d Wisconsin.

To His Wife

*Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps
Ponce, Porto Rico
Sunday, July 31, 1898*

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I AM looking forward to the time when I can describe to you verbally the perfect ludicrousness of this situation.

We landed loaded to the muzzle and with our teeth set expecting to fight our way up here. Instead of which the inhabitants received us with open arms and tremendous enthusiasm, and the first night I slept or dreamt I slept for a little while in marble

TO HIS WIFE

halls. The fact was that I did sleep on a tessellated pavement, but as I had nothing under me it came hard.

The only time I have even had my hand on my revolver was two nights ago when I went down with another officer and two soldiers with an engine and an open car to Yauco. The line had just been reopened by the engineers and ran through what was supposed to be the enemy's country; but devil an enemy did we see, although we stopped several times.

We have pushed our outposts about eight miles towards San Juan, and meanwhile spend our time trying to restore some semblance of method in this city and in paroling the Porto Rican Volunteer Army. O Lord! I wish you could see them. Boscabello¹ is n't in it with this place.

We are overcharged for everything, and American money is n't worth anywhere near

¹ "Boscabello" was a comic opera, popular at that time.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

its real value in Porto Rican money ; but we hope this will be better soon.

The country is beautiful, real cocoanuts and bananas growing on real palms. I have lost all sense of identity, and feel precisely as if I were on the stage. The houses, populace, soldiers, everything is absurd. I am going to send home a sword which was surrendered to me, as soon as I get a chance. Of course it belongs to the Government and I am legally bound to turn it in ; but never a law of God or man counts in this city outside of military law.

I hope we shall get ahead soon, and I suppose we shall as soon as provisions and troops are landed ; but I am beginning to think there is no fight in the Spanish.

I have not seen Bay¹ since the day we landed ; but I suppose the *Dixie* will be back soon, as she only went as far as St. Thomas.

The regiments here are 6th Illinois, 6th

¹ His brother-in-law, George Cabot Lodge, an ensign on the *Dixie*.

TO HIS WIFE

Massachusetts, 3d Wisconsin, 2d Wisconsin,
16th Pennsylvania; but three more transports got in this evening.

I suppose you got a joint letter from Bay and me. He is as well as possible and just the same. They have been lucky enough to have several scraps; but the Navy's fun, I guess, is a good deal over. Uncle Harry¹ promised to wire you from St. Thomas that I was all right.

Of course, everything has gone astray; but I expect that an occasional letter from you is likely to trickle through somehow.

To His Wife

*Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps
Ponce, P.R., August 2, 1898*

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

WE have now 7000 men here at Ponce, and I very much doubt if 1000 are necessary. The Spanish troops cannot be more than 4000,

¹ Rear Admiral Charles Henry Davis, U.S.N., in command of the *Dixie*.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

and they are said to be at Aibonito, about thirty miles from here.

I do not know whether we shall move on them soon or not, as the unloading is very slow, owing to the fact that there are no tugs and only a few steam launches belonging to the Navy.

The rumors of peace are thick, and every one is more disgusted than ever. I am not bloodthirsty ; but I should like to see a little real fighting after all the farce.

I slung my hammock in a rose garden under a trellis and tried that method the other night, but the mosquitoes drove me in. Most of the Staff live in a fine house with the garden I speak of behind. We have real china and glass, a good table managed by the New York *Sun* war correspondent, and Mr. Abraham Bryan Sweetwine, a colored gentleman that we picked up somehow in Charleston, South Carolina, to wait on table in a white jacket and apron. I suppose when we get ontohardtack and bacon, in the field, we shall miss all this !

Augustus Peabody Gardner

Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General in the Spanish War



TO HIS WIFE

I only wish I could picture the scene here at Headquarters in the Commandant's house. Typewriters, telephone, telegraph all going at once; guards, orderlies, officers, dagoes, spies, interpreters, damfools, newspaper men, all jabbering. Papers, telegrams, and orders flying in all directions. False reports of engagements, sacking, pillage, etc., coming in on the wire. Everything going with a whoop amid cursing and swearing and injustice and confusion. I can hear now in the next room two officers each trying to drown the other's voice in dictating to stenographers.

I send you the initial copy of the *New Era*. The officer who landed and stated his terms was your Uncle Harry.¹

To His WIFE

August 4, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

WE expect to move this afternoon, so I drop you a hurried line. The Colonel and Lieu-

¹ Rear Admiral Davis.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

tenant-Colonel and two other officers of the Sixth Massachusetts (now in this command) have resigned. The regiment is in pretty bad shape, and General Wilson wants to put me in as Colonel, and has telegraphed Governor Wolcott to that effect.

If I get it, which I don't expect, it will be a stupendous job to undertake to set the regiment on its feet.

CABLEGRAM TO HIS WIFE AFTER THE BATTLE OF COAMO

August 10, 1898

From Ponce to Gardner, Wenham, Mass.

Never touched me

GARDNER

To His Wife

Coamo, P.R.

August 9, 1898

MY DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I HAVE been under fire in a fight this morning just outside of this town, and as far as I

TO HIS WIFE

can see I did all right. I believe the General has mentioned me in his dispatches.

Colonel Biddle and I left camp with the 16th Pennsylvania yesterday evening and started into the mountains, where we camped. At 12.30 A.M. Biddle and I left camp with the pioneer train and cleared the road for the troops. We had a very hard march, but managed to head off the Spaniards and captured 180, killing six or seven including the Commandant of Ponce. He exposed himself terribly. I had a shot at him myself with a Krag-Jorgenson which I borrowed. It was the only shot I fired and, thank Heaven, I missed.

It is almost impossible to realize that it is you they are firing at. You feel like saying, "You damn fools, don't point your confounded guns this way."

I sent you a cablegram this afternoon in case you should hear a garbled account of the fight, merely saying I was O.K.

Our next point is Aibonito, where we shall

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

have a fight, and then the road is clear to San Juan in all probability.

I was in the saddle fourteen hours steadily, except when I was leading my horse, and part of the time during the fight. I should say the fight lasted about three quarters of an hour and that about 3000 or more shots were fired.

A Japanese warrior is about to return to Ponce, so I must close this letter to send it by him.

I had yours and baby's photo in my pocket during the fight.

To His Wife

Coamo, P.R., Hdqrs. 1st Div. 1st Corps

August 14, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE :

I SUPPOSE that the war is over and I shall try my best to get home soon; but I think I shall probably need your father's help in getting my resignation accepted. Of course, I cannot resign without General Wilson's

TO HIS WIFE

consent, as it would not be decent to leave him in the lurch.

I do not know whether his dispatch commanding me for gallantry in the fight at Coamo ever got through; but I shall abstract the duplicate from the Adjutant's records here and bring it home with me, as I do not care to trust it to the mail.

I had not been in ten minutes from a dangerous reconnaissance when the news came that the protocol had been signed. I had been out in command of about thirty cavalrymen and signalmen for thirty hours in the mountains trying to find a road by which to attack Aibonito from the rear.

It was a very unpleasant trip, as we were fired on from the trenches before we had been out two hours, and from that time on we were in danger of ambush, as our presence was known. Moreover, we had to drag our horses up the mountains and camp in the rain on the side of a hill without a fire to make coffee and not a stitch of canvas in the outfit.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

The saddest thing I have seen was a company of the 3d Wisconsin marching in the funeral train of two of their number who were killed, probably after the protocol was signed. It seemed so unnecessary, and the Dead March from Saul which the band played was harrowing.

I can't help being glad the war is over. Any man who has been under a hot fire and says he was not afraid is either a fool or a liar. There is no cowardice in being afraid. The question is whether a man does his duty in spite of his fear.

I think I should have been used a good deal for reconnaissance if the war had lasted, and that would have very likely meant being bagged to a certainty.

To His WIFE

Ponce, P.R., August 22, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

SOON after the truce was announced, General Wilson sent me off on a tour of the country

TO HIS WIFE

to investigate the school and taxation system. I went as far as the city of Mayaguez. The country where there are no soldiers is in a pretty disorganized state, guerrillas both with Spanish and Porto Rican sympathies abounding. I had no trouble, however, except in arresting a deserter from the 11th Regular Infantry. I got him back to Ponce all right, however. Who should turn up last night but Bob Wallach¹ as a Lieutenant of Artillery and Walter Abbott² as a Lieutenant of Engineers.

I am going to broach the subject of resignation to General Wilson this evening. He has just returned to Ponce and is to be in command on the Island for the present. I have my fears that he won't let me go just yet, however, as I guess he finds me useful. Two of the Staff leave for Washington tonight under orders; but one of them is coming back. It makes me feel awful homesick.

¹ Robert Wallach, now Major of Cavalry, U.S.A. (1918).

² Walter Abbott, of Boston, since dead.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

I perfectly hate it here now that the war is over; but I shan't go back on the old man after the way he has treated me. The weather is oppressive, and it is a distinct effort to attend to one's duties, especially sedentary ones.

General Miles leaves tonight. I wish to Heaven I was Commander-in-Chief, skimming off the cream from everything!

I have not yet begun to let my belt out again; but I suppose I can scarcely hope to stay as thin as I am now till you see me again. Breeches that were a snug fit at Charleston are an inch or more too large around the waist now, and my face has promontories that I never suspected.

TO HIS WIFE

Camp near Ponce, P.R.

August 28, 1898

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

WE are ordered home! Heaven be praised! We expect to sail on the *Concho* in about a week; but are probably going on board

TO HIS WIFE

tomorrow, as about half the Staff is sick. I myself have not been very well on account of malaria and there are a great many soldiers very ill.

It ought to take us about a week to reach New York, and then we shall go into camp near Brooklyn, probably, for a few days, after which I shall probably either be mustered out or shall get leave of absence and go home with the papers of this division to straighten them out preparatory to turning them over to the War Department.

I just got back yesterday from a trip with a small detachment of soldiers to Sabana Grande where I was sent on the unpleasant duty of deposing one alcalde and setting up another. I called a meeting of the council and gave them fits through the interpreter.

Evidently General Miles suppressed the account of the fight at Coamo. It was the only strategic performance of the Porto Rican campaign. I suppose the official report will be suppressed also.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

I believe that in barracks the men's health would be fairly good; but in camp with everything drenched every few hours it is pretty tough.

As I sit here I can look out of my tent and see the most beautiful scenery in the world. Green hills with a thunderstorm brewing behind them. In front a green level meadow with occasional trees and the horses of a cavalry troop grazing knee-deep in grass. A few tents here and there, a few cattle, and two army wagons with large white canvas covers.

If all goes well I shall reach you soon after this letter does, and I hope I shall not have changed so much that you will not know me. At present my fine figure is much reduced in its proportions.

II

CONGRESS AND POLITICS

To His Wife

Hamilton, Mass.

April 6, 1902¹

I ENCLOSE you some clippings from today's *Herald*. I am sorry that the brevet² should come just now. It looks like politics.

I am going to speak before a French club in Haverhill and want you to write me a speech of about 2500 words, if you care to do so.

It should be non-political; but there should be plenty of La Salle, Frontenac, Père Marquette, etc., down to Sir W. Laurier. Mincing of the two streams, sturdy *habitants* clasp hands with sturdy Puritan and Celt, etc. Give them plenty of history, Indians, torture, Jesuits, gore, etc. They like it strong.

I think the Gardner tide is beginning to

¹ This was the opening of Major Gardner's first campaign for Congress.

² His brevet as Major for services in the war with Spain.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

rise by hard work. I certainly have not spared myself.

To His Wife

Washington, December 10, 1903

YESTERDAY I went for a three hours' walk or rather climb with the President¹ and Lieutenant Fortescue. It is simply extraordinary that a man of the President's weight and age can climb around the face of cliffs the way he does. Two secret service men started to follow him; but he sent them back. Fortescue was armed; but I was not. I think that I shall follow the advice of the secret service men and carry a revolver the next time.

I play Bridge nearly every night; but tonight I am to be received into some sort of organization of Spanish War Veterans, and tomorrow evening I am to call on Colonel Shatswell of Ipswich (formerly Master of the Masonic Lodge there) to get some instructions for my next degree.

¹ President Theodore Roosevelt.

TO HIS DAUGHTER

To His DAUGHTER

December 12, 1903

MY DEAR BIG TOOK:¹

WHAT a goose your Pip² was to go away to Congress and leave you and Mother and the horses and the ponies and Vixen-Dog and all the nice things at home.

Oh, how pleased I was to get your letter and to know that you were having a good time. But, Took, you don't know how to make a kiss in a letter. You make it like this: *O*; but it should be like this: *X*. I will show you at the end of the letter.

Old Pip plays squash, and rides with Grandpa and walks with the President and that is all the fun that old Pip has. The rest of the time he runs errands for his constituents. This is a long word, and it means all the people who tell Pip how much they helped him to get elected.

¹ His pet name for his daughter Constance, at this time nine years old.

² His daughter's name for him.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Pip made a speech today in Congress; but no one listened. After he got through all the people who had been asleep or out of the hall shook hands with Pip and told him how much they enjoyed it.

Give my love to Jack and George and Peggy from Paris and all the rest of your children.

Your devoted POPPER

X X X X X X X X Kisses.

To Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE

Hamilton, Mass., Oct. 6, 1908

DEAR MR. LODGE:

I ENCLOSE you herewith a copy of my speech at the Convention on Saturday, as I am very anxious to have you criticise it.

In spite of your complimentary remarks after I had finished, I was perfectly conscious during two thirds of the time I was speaking that I did not succeed in arousing my audience at all, and only to a degree did it seem to me that I was successful in arresting their attention. With the effect of the last part of the

TO HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE

speech I was better satisfied ; but not entirely so. The applause was spontaneous enough when I mentioned the names of the various popular figures ; but I could not seem to work my audience up to the pitch of applauding unreasoningly.

All this is somewhat discouraging to one who has been on the stump so long as I have, and I have made up my mind that I must find out just what is wrong, either in construction or delivery, before I can hope to accomplish satisfactory results. That oratory can be reduced to certain fixed rules is perhaps impossible, but there must be general propositions which experts like yourself can lay down.

I do not believe that my speech lacked material or ideas, although of course I may be flattering myself in that regard. Nevertheless, I am quite sure that I have seen audiences aroused by speeches which contained fewer adroit expressions.

It seems to me that the trouble must lie in the construction of the speech or in its de-

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

livery: probably in both. Constance, for instance, thinks that I speak too slowly and that my vibrating gesture with my upraised right hand is a great mistake. She thinks that a conversational tone maintained throughout my entire argument with regard to the rules of the House, the Tariff, and Labor would have been much more effective.

Another criticism which Constance offers is that my speech lacked continuity and that I jumped from one subject to another without interposing any definite steps to break the transition.

I should appreciate it very much, indeed, if you would read the speech carefully and tell me exactly what you yourself would have done had you been in my place and had you been invited to construct your address on the exact materials which I used in the construction of mine.

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

HON. H. C. LODGE

Nahant, Mass.

FROM HON. H. C. LODGE

FROM HON. H. C. LODGE TO A. P. GARDNER

Nahant, Mass.

October 8, 1908

DEAR GUS:

I HAVE your letter of the 6th. I read the draft of your speech and I listened to every word of it. Now I have read it again with great care. There was no one in that audience except Constance who was as anxious for your success as I, and I was, therefore, extremely sensitive to any shortcomings. What I said to you when you finished was not complimentary, but my actual impression, and I have seen no reason to change it. All that I heard and, what is more important, overheard, confirmed my own opinion. The general opinion was and is that your speech was very successful, and about the manner in which you presided and handled a difficulty which does not usually arise in our State Conventions, there are not and cannot be two opinions. You were a first-rate presiding officer and everybody recognized it. I think you expected too much.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Your careful argument about Labor and the Tariff was not calculated to bring outbursts of applause, and would not have done so in anybody's hands; but the Convention liked it and was impressed by it, and it was the sort of serious argument that ought to be made to a convention. I do not think anything could have been better done than the way in which you brought out Roosevelt and Taft, and speaking out of a pretty large experience I do not see how you could have received more hearty applause than those passages received. It is little to say that your speech roused the Convention far more than the average speech of presiding officers at our conventions; but you ask me to criticise the speech and delivery and make any suggestions that occur to me.

Since reading the speech again and giving it the most careful thought, I see one or two places that I did not notice when I read the draft, or when you delivered it, which would be improved by a sentence or two to smooth

FROM HON. H. C. LODGE

the transition from one subject to another and so lead your hearers to the new subject more easily and less abruptly than is now the case.' As for the speech itself I see no other suggestion to make.

Now as to the delivery. It struck me that in transacting the business of the Convention you pitched your voice a little too high. The high pitch and not the loud shout is the secret of making people hear ; but you tended to make it too high with the consequent risk of breaking your voice. You also put the motions and votes a little too rapidly. A slight pause in asking for the ayes and noes and before announcing the result makes the process more effective and business-like. You can hardly employ the conversational tone too much, as I remember hearing Wendell Phillips say when I was a young man ; but you must preserve the high pitch even then to make yourself heard. I think a larger use of the conversational tone would have improved the delivery of your speech and made the early parts more effec-

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

tive. I have no faith in the hot-air business. Everybody indulges in a certain amount of it, and in an ordinary stump speech it is allowable; but in a Convention speech it is out of place and the audience does not really like it, especially from the public men who represent them. You have every reason to be greatly pleased with your success on Saturday. I have a strong impression that it was a much better speech and much more enthusiastically received than the one I delivered in '91 when I was about your age and which at the time seemed very successful.

Always yours

H. C. LODGE

To His DAUGHTER

Washington, D.C.

July 22, 1909

DEAREST OF TOOKS:

THANK you ever so much for your letter. It was very well expressed, interesting and neatly written. How you have improved!

TO PROFESSOR HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

Since last I wrote to Mother I have at last, after several attempts, seen the Wrights fly in their flying machine. Yesterday I went out to Fort Myer with Mr. George Howard and there I examined the machine carefully, drew a long face, asked questions in a solemn tone of voice, and pretended I understood the answers.

Orville Wright worked the bird. Occasionally it would pass directly overhead and I could see that he wore white socks. The most wonderful part is to see how skillfully he brings it down so as not to break it.

I note what you say about Arctic weather in Hamilton. It has been cool in spots here, but I have not needed my fur tippet or muff.

To PROFESSOR HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

Hamilton, Massachusetts

October 15, 1909

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MÜNSTERBERG :

You, I hope, will excuse a Harvard graduate personally unknown to you for expressing

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

certain comments on your article entitled “The Standing of Scholarship in America.”

It may be, as you say, that a philosophical revolution in the United States must precede a restoration of scholarship to its proper standing, or rather to that which you and I believe to be its proper standing. If so, Harvard herself should lose no time in reversing her course and shouldering the loss inevitable to the pioneer who blazes a new track opposed in direction to the spirit of the age.

You will observe in the preceding sentence that I use the word “restoration,” as I am quite old enough to remember that in my boyhood the American scholar (who, by the way, was the pedagogue then as now) held a much higher relative place in public esteem. That we were less than now a positivist people thirty years ago, I think extremely doubtful. Perhaps, however, our positivism held no such universal sway in those days of incomplete democracy.

However, my object in writing to you is

TO PROFESSOR HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

not to philosophize, but rather to present my own experience as an illustration of that which I believe to be a practical result of an unlimited Elective System.

Well on in life my reverence for scholarship has been acquired by close family association with scholars. Harvard College forbade me such reverence as I should naturally have felt. At Harvard, after my Freshman year, I was taught to select my courses, not with a view to becoming a cultivated gentleman, but rather for their future utility or else for the purpose of securing a Bachelor's degree by a minimum of effort. Perhaps it is not fair to say that I was taught to exercise my choice from any such point of view. Perhaps, although I have forgotten it, the advice given me may have been exactly opposite. Does mere advice prevent the generality of mankind from following the line of least resistance, if inviting opportunity is simultaneously presented?

At all events, inasmuch as my intentions

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

were generally better than my performances, I resisted the temptation of easy courses, selecting for the most part History and Political Economy as subjects to be studied with a mortifying lack of diligence. At the time I had a vague intention of fitting myself for the political life which, after a long interval, I ultimately adopted.

In a sense, then, the Elective System was useful to me, but is my case typical? How many boys of eighteen accurately predict their future occupation?

But let us see what I lost by the Elective System. Notably, I failed to get the foundation of a liberal education. Attaining no trace of scholarship myself, by no possibility could I learn to value justly those who had attained scholarship in a high degree. My conception of a great scholar of necessity pictured the man who could impart to me the greatest amount of useful knowledge. The fact that I did not have the industry to take all that was offered me in no way altered my conception.

TO PROFESSOR HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

If Harvard had started me on the right road, I might today be a fair scholar. I certainly should be more understandingly appreciative of scholarship. Even now, at times I find difficulty in regarding it as more than a mere elegance.

My father-in-law, Senator Lodge, was educated at Harvard under a prescribed system. Today, he is a scholar. He reads to improve and exercise his mind and to develop his scholarship. I, on the other hand, read either for diversion or to attain a definite result. I read Gibbon or Grote not for cultivation, but solely to learn from history the art of government. I read Shakespeare's plays not for the pleasure they give me, but because I know that Abraham Lincoln found them of immense assistance in extending his vocabulary and developing his power of expression.

The difference of mental equipment between my father-in-law and me may account for much of the difference between our mental attributes today, but I am convinced that

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

the Elective System at Harvard is in part responsible. Lodge was a twig bent in a scholarly direction. I was a twig bent in the direction of utility. He spontaneously respects and appreciates the scholar. I do so only as the result of mental compulsion.

If I am a fair example of the man whose education does not end at the desk of a counting-house, at once there appears at least one weighty cause for the retrogression of American scholarship in the esteem of the baccalaureate public. By what miracle may the Bachelor learn reverence for that of which he is scarcely taught the existence?

While I am perfectly well aware of the objections to a rigid curriculum, I believe it to attain better results than our present unlimited Elective System with its utilitarian aims. Of course, that system is only one of the manifestations of our idolatry of purely practical knowledge or, as Chapman might perhaps express it, knowledge administered in selected capsules.

TO PROFESSOR HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

State-supported universities cannot be pioneers in stemming the utilitarian tide, for the citizens would not permit it. The newer universities will not slacken in their race for numerical superiority, because they have no traditions nor history to fall back upon as compensation in the public eye for their tarnished totals.

Why should Harvard make the sacrifice, even if it were proved that sacrifice should be made? Perchance because sacrifice is no stranger to the Harvard ideal. Perchance because Harvard can lead where others can but follow. We graduates believe that the most honorable position in a pilgrimage is held by the leading chariot, regardless of the number of its occupants. Many of us are sure that this country, even in these days of materialism, presents a broad field for a seat of learning based on quite another doctrine. To me, whose every day is devoted to materialistic considerations often of the least attractive kind, the hope that Harvard will lead in a new direction is especially enticing.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

If such a movement shall be begun, the opposition of our own graduates will be strong, perhaps insurmountable, for men are but too prone to measure the eminence of a college by the bulk of its catalogue.

Very truly yours

A. P. GARDNER

To E. E. GAYLORD, Esq.

Personal and Confidential. January 11, 1910

MY DEAR MR. GAYLORD:

I AM in receipt of your two letters of January 7 and 8. Things have moved a little faster than I expected, largely for the reason that the Speaker's friends continued their attack on the Insurgents. I have abandoned all hope of a policy of holding the door open so that Mr. Cannon could withdraw gracefully. It is absolutely impossible now that the fight is on again.

My absence at the time the vote was taken the other day was owing to the fact that the Norris Amendment was not con-

TO E. E. GAYLORD, ESQ.

templated beforehand. Otherwise, I should have been notified and should have come to the Capitol, although I had not been out of the house for several days owing to my lumbago.

As a matter of fact, I told Norris some time ago that he could depend upon me to support him by my vote in matters of the Rules at any time he notified me, although, for reasons which he fully understood, I personally would prefer a truce for the present. Norris tells me that he would have notified me in time for the vote had it not been that he supposed that I was out of the city.

Now with regard to matters pertaining to President Taft: I see from your letters that you are inclined to suspend judgment and are awaiting developments.

(1) With regard to the question of withholding patronage from Insurgents because they are opposing Cannon: Personally, I very much doubt the fact for various reasons. The first Congressman who came out

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

with this accusation was Congressman Miller of Minnesota. Miller defeated Congressman Bede for renomination in a campaign whose principal feature was Miller's claim that Bede was a hide-bound Cannon man. Just before the new Congress opened in March last, Miller arrived in Washington, and if I recollect rightly, attended one meeting of the Insurgents and then withdrew. He voted with the Speaker's friends on every vote at the organization of Congress. Now, as a matter of fact, Bede was by no means a hide-bound Cannon man, and it is only natural that he should oppose Miller for renomination this summer. About ten days ago Bede came out with a statement calling attention to Miller's inconsistency, and I am of the opinion that Miller's claim as to patronage is his method of replying. Obviously, Mr. Taft is not punishing Miller because he opposed the Cannon régime, inasmuch as Miller supported the Cannon régime. Now I will tell you some additional facts which

TO E. E. GAYLORD, ESQ.

are not for publication. We had a meeting of the Insurgents last night at which twenty men were present. A show of hands was called for to find out which Insurgents had had trouble with their patronage. Four hands went up, to wit:—Cary, Lenroot,¹ Norris,² and Miller. Lenroot had had trouble about a census supervisor; Norris had had trouble about a postmaster; and neither Cary nor Miller specified anything. Now I have the very highest confidence in Norris, and I am convinced that he thinks that his insurgency is the cause of his trouble. Personally, I suspect that one of his Senators has put a finger in the pie, which, after all, a Senator has a perfect right to do inasmuch as the Constitution gives Senators a say in the appointment of officials. There may also be some such explanation in the Lenroot case; in fact, from time to time all Congressmen have trouble with their recommendations.

¹ Now Senator from Wisconsin (1919).

² Now Senator from Nebraska (1919).

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

If there is any truth in the report about patronage, it is certainly a singular fact that Murdock, Hayes, and Davis, who are as active Insurgents as anybody, have had no trouble whatsoever.

(2) Now as to the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy: Let me first state my own views. Pinchot's family are very intimate with my family and my prejudice is entirely in favor of Pinchot. Further than that, my father-in-law and my wife have always been enthusiastic admirers of the Ex-Chief Forester, and not over three weeks ago we three had a violent argument in which I was opposed by both my wife and father-in-law, when I expressed a doubt as to Pinchot's good judgment.

Now, if I had been in Pinchot's place and had believed as Pinchot did that beyond peradventure of a doubt Ballinger was mixed up in rascality, I should have considered it my duty to expose it. (At least, I hope I should have had the courage to expose it.) Up to that point I coincide with Pinchot. Now, Pinchot

TO E. E. GAYLORD, ESQ.

is a man of large property with no family to support, and, therefore, he had no one whom he was bound to consider before offering his resignation. It seems to me that if I had been in his place and had felt as he did, I should have offered my resignation, relieved myself of disloyalty to my Chief, and then made my accusations.

I am quite sure that had Roosevelt been in Taft's place he would have done precisely what Taft did, except that he would not have called for a Cabinet meeting before taking action.

Now, with regard to Ballinger : The President was furnished with the Glavis charges and with Ballinger's defense. His findings were in Ballinger's favor. So far, so good. Until you and I hear both sides, we must not undertake to say whether or not we approve the President's conclusions.

Mr. Hitchcock¹ of Nebraska in a speech in the House the other day stated the counts in

¹ Now Senior Senator from Nebraska (1919).

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

his indictment of Ballinger. If the allegations which were made are proved to be true, it will be hard to escape the conclusion that Ballinger's code of ethics is such as should preclude him from a seat in the Cabinet. I sincerely hope that Ballinger's defense will be unassailable; but I am trying to avoid prejudice until I hear the facts.

I am perfectly satisfied that there will be a proper committee of investigation which will bring the facts before the public. I confess, however, that I dread the combat. On the one hand, there will be lawyers trying to assail Ballinger and Taft for the sake of political capital, and on the other hand other lawyers who will try to defend Ballinger by attacking Glavis. Out of all the mess and dirt, however, I feel confident that the facts will come out in such a shape that intelligent men can understand them. I probably shall not write you at length again for some time to come inasmuch as I am pretty busy. It is a delight to me, however, to write you letters

TO HIS WIFE

expressing my views for two reasons:—First, I know that you are courteous to read them carefully; and secondly, because in the course of time I shall read my retained copies over and probably come to the conclusion that I have written a lot of nonsense!

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

To His Wife

Aiken, S.C., April 14, 1910.

You ask me whether I think that Socialism is an imminent danger. Socialistic legislation is not only an imminent danger; but the whole world is passing it daily. In other words, the functions of government and government undertakings are rapidly being increased with an ever-increasing expenditure of money. This money ultimately must be taken (from those who have money) in the form of taxation. When capital has been seriously impaired by taxation, the process will be checked. Meanwhile, I believe that many people will

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

be ruined. It is no more sound for a nation to live on its capital than for an individual. Socialism, as a complete system, will in my opinion never be attained for the reason that a cataclysm will intervene before it can be installed. It makes no difference whether the purpose is to install it by degrees or suddenly. If by any chance a complete socialistic state could be installed by revolution, I doubt whether it would last any longer than the Ateliers Nationaux of 1848.

Public schools are socialistic, a post-office department conducted at a loss is socialistic, a highway system is often socialistic. I think the future will add many more forms of socialism until the last straw breaks the camel's back and then the world's pendulum will swing the other way.

As nearly as I can do so I have answered your question about the imminence of socialism. I realize, however, that I have not made myself very plain.

TO E. H. ABBOTT, ESQ.

To E. H. ABBOTT, Esq., of THE OUTLOOK

February 6, 1912

MY DEAR MR. ABBOTT:

ON January 10, 1911, you wrote me asking certain questions about the attitude of the Democratic Party towards parliamentary liberty. At that time I wrote you a somewhat long letter in which I expressed my own assurance that there was no desire on the part of that party to take any backward step in regard to the Rules. I am now inclined to revise that opinion. Under another cover I am sending you a copy of the report of the proceedings of the House on February 3, 1912. The step taken in amending Rule 27, Clause 4, seems to me to be a deliberate backward step.

While I admit that there is some force in the position taken by Mr. Garrett¹ and Mr. Underwood,² that opportunities for motions to

¹ Hon. F. J. Garrett, Member of Congress from Tennessee.

² Hon. Oscar Underwood, now Senator from Alabama (1919).

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

suspend the rules had been blocked, for all that I deny that the fact had as yet been demonstrated. At all events, the proposed change seems to me to be worse than the situation which Mr. Garrett and Mr. Underwood allege to exist. This proposed change should never have been put through under the operation of the previous question prohibiting amendment. To put the matter as concisely as I can, the facts are as follows : On June 17, 1910, a Rule was adopted providing a Calendar on which members might register motions to discharge committees from further consideration of bills which had not been reported. This was known as the Discharge Calendar. Its purpose was to provide some means by which a Bill could be got out of Committee if that Committee happened not to represent the will of the majority of the House. Up to that time the only way to discharge a committee was under the motion to suspend the rules, which could be made on the first and third Mondays in every month and at no other time. This motion to suspend

TO E. H. ABBOTT, ESQ. .

the rules required a two-thirds vote to carry it, but under the suspension rule it is optional with the Speaker whether or not he shall recognize the member who desires to make the motion. It is also true that the motion to suspend the rules is used for many other purposes beyond that of discharging committees, and to that extent there is force in Mr. Underwood's and Mr. Garrett's position.

On the earliest day possible in the present Congress a very large number of motions to discharge were filed. Some of these motions were unquestionably filed by collusion in order to block the Calendar as much as possible. Others were filed by members who wished to display unusual activity in behalf of the measure which they might favor. Others were filed as a precaution in case the Committee should prove recalcitrant. For instance, I myself filed a motion to discharge the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization from the consideration of the Bill providing an educational test for immigrants. I had no desire whatever to

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

bring this motion up until it should become evident that the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization intended deliberate delay.

Under the rule as adopted June 17, 1910, on the first and third Mondays in each month motions to discharge Committees could be called up from the Discharge Calendar. It was also decided that these motions should have precedence over motions to suspend the rules. I am perfectly willing to admit that this Discharge Calendar has not been altogether successful; but in my opinion the blame rests very largely with the Democrats, who have invariably refused to permit a second to the motion to discharge.

I am perfectly willing to admit that some device was necessary by which on very rare occasions the motion to suspend the rules should have precedence over the Discharge Calendar. If the previous question had not been ordered, I myself should have introduced an amendment taking away from the Speaker

TO E. H. ABBOTT, ESQ.

the arbitrary right to refuse recognition on the motion to suspend. Various other amendments would have been offered without a doubt and we might have arrived at some intelligent result. As the situation is now, we have squarely reverted in this particular branch of the Rules to the position in which we found ourselves prior to June 17, 1910.

Of course, in many other respects the Rules are a very great improvement over the old Rules; but in this particular matter there is a serious falling-off. Personally, I believe that the right of the House to discharge a Committee is of infinitely more importance than the question as to who ought to appoint the Committees. During the Insurgent movement for a change in the Rules I always voted in Insurgent meetings against taking from the Speaker the right to appoint Committees. However, as a majority of those engaged in the movement overruled me, I always supported this change on the floor of

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

the House. It has always seemed to me that the two great essentials in which the Rules were wrong were these:

First. That there was not time set apart for the consideration of Bills on the Calendar which were not “privileged.” This situation has been very well taken care of by “Calendar Wednesday.”

Second. That there was no way to get on the Calendar any Bill of which the Committee having jurisdiction might disapprove.

I believe that the Discharge Calendar Rule with some amendments would have gone a long way towards remedying this defect. It would not have remedied it absolutely, because there is *really* no way in which you can make a majority of the House do something which they do not desire to do. Uncomfortable issues can be avoided by adjournment and by many other devices. Nevertheless, if the Rule were to be given a fair chance I am inclined to think that

TO E. H. ABBOTT, ESQ.

it would become effective when a majority of the House at heart wishes to consider a Bill.

In the debate on Saturday, Mr. Norris's statement of the situation is in my opinion absolutely correct. Mr. Lenroot's statement I do not entirely agree with. I am in especial doubt as to the soundness of the remedy which he suggests.

To my mind there is nothing in Mr. Underwood's contention that 44 motions were filed on the earliest possible date. Take my own motion, for instance. I knew perfectly well that the Discharge Calendar would be crowded and that if I were to wait until later in the session before making my motion to discharge, I should run the risk of having that motion never reached during the life of the Congress. There is nothing in Mr. Underwood's contention with regard to pension bills. If I recollect rightly, only a few of the discharge motions referred to pension legislation. Mr. Underwood could have had these

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

motions removed by unanimous consent just as well as any one else.

Today has been the first day for the operation of the new Rule adopted on Saturday. There will not be another Suspension Day for two weeks. In my opinion the cat was let out of the bag today. The only motion to suspend the rules was made by Mr. Slayden of Texas for the purpose of passing the Anti-Third-Term Resolution. When the House refused consideration of this Resolution, adjournment was immediately moved and carried on a strictly party vote. It seems to me clearly that the purpose for which the rules were changed on Saturday was in order to admit Mr. Slayden's Resolution today. Of course, I do not mean that this was the only reason why the Democrats desired the change; but I think it is the reason why they desired it at this particular juncture instead of a little later.

Very truly yours

A. P. GARDNER

TO HON. ROBERT M. WASHBURN

To HON. ROBERT M. WASHBURN

Hamilton, Mass.

December 30, 1912

MY DEAR MR. WASHBURN:

I HAVE read in the columns of the daily press your questions as to my attitude on the Senatorial situation.

You ask me whether I should advise Curtis Guild to accept an election to the United States Senate secured for him by a coalition between the Democratic legislators and a minority of the Republican legislators. Yes, dear friend, yes. I should advise him to hold his pocket handkerchief before his streaming eyes, avert his gaze, and then extend a relentless grasp for the unhallowed thing.

As a former affiliated member in dubious standing of the Inter-State Union of Steam Roller Engineers, I am going to take the liberty to explain to you just how a Senatorial caucus works. There are forty-six more Republicans than there are Democrats and Progressives combined in the incoming Mas-

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

sachusetts Legislature, which is to elect a United States Senator. In other words, the Republicans have a majority of forty-six. If all, or most of these Republican legislators can be induced to meet together, that meeting will be what is known as a conference or a caucus. If in one way or another it can be made to appear that party loyalty requires each one of the gentlemen present at that meeting to abide by the will of the majority, there you have the caucus in its perfection. In other words, by this simple device a majority of a majority can select a United States Senator. Every Republican who wishes to be considered "regular" will abide by the caucus decision.

Moreover, as you know, many men have been elected to the next Legislature whose constituents are by no means enthusiastic about the dear old guard. Yet these very same men desire to stand well with the leaders. What more obvious step for them than to fall in with the plan for a caucus? In

TO HON. ROBERT M. WASHBURN

the caucus they can earnestly support some liberal candidate and then, accepting defeat gracefully, yield to the will of the majority. Thus they will satisfy both sides.

The fact is, Mr. Washburn, that the proposed caucus is a device for casting a representative's vote where his constituency does not wish it to go. To function properly this ingenious piece of mechanism requires the Representative's coöperation in the first instance, but no longer. In other words, the Representative must voluntarily permit himself to be led into the caucus chamber. After he has once taken the veil of party regularity, he is no longer permitted to communicate with outsiders, and he soon discovers that only reprehensible and suspicious characters ever emerge from a caucus which they have once entered. After all, I agree with that view. If I consent to attend one of these political séances, even conditionally, I feel somewhat bound not to throttle the medium just because the manifestations do not happen

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

to be to my taste. Senators and Representatives will be tolled into the coming gathering by some bellman chanting melodiously of a two-thirds rule to protect us all from a machine nomination. Stuff your ears with cotton wool. There is not going to be any two-thirds rule unless it looks like a runaway race for the Weeks and Draper stable.

There is nothing inherently vicious about caucuses; but don't go anywhere near this coming one unless you wish to make Weeks or Draper (probably Weeks) the next Senator.

The machine is headed that way and it is not oiled for any other kind of a trip. If you don't believe me, try to steer it in the direction of Guild and then listen to it wheeze. Why, Mr. Washburn, you are said to be of Senatorial calibre yourself. Yet, the roller would burst an indignant boiler over your erratic youthfulness if any one were heard to breathe your candidacy at Republican headquarters.

TO HON. ROBERT M. WASHBURN

The fact is that it is about time to relegate this wheezy old contraption to the scrap-heap. Wine may be better the older it gets. "Vintage" wine is certainly the best; but Heaven save us battered Republicans from a "vintage" machine.

One word in closing. Do not feel obliged to attend any caucus on my account. To be sure, I voted the Republican ticket, and therefore, according to the gospellers, I gave you a "clear mandate" to attend a caucus and vote for Weeks or Draper or some other walking delegate of the Political Machinists' Brotherhood of Happier Days. I absolve you from that imaginary obligation. Like all the rest of the Republican voters of Massachusetts, I knew nothing of this "clear mandate" business until after I had voted on November 5. The Republican Brahmins ought to have taken us into their confidence earlier. Before election, oysters were chatter-boxes as compared with the steam roller engineers.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

With assurances of my real respect for you
and for your trusty sword, I am

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

To His Wife

*House of Representatives, U.S.
Washington, D.C.*

April 9, 1913

WELL, the great ceremony is over and President Wilson has revived a custom one hundred and twenty-odd years old, etc. There has been no end of newspaper comment. The papers here say that he was cheered when he mounted the steps of the Speaker's dais. Not a word of truth in it.

The plain facts are these: It was a very graceful little ceremony to which we were treated. First, the Senate filed in and was seated. Then the President arrived escorted by a committee and was received by House and Senate standing. He was greeted with respectful handclapping, mostly from the Democratic side of the House.

TO HIS WIFE

The President's speech was admirably delivered. He was the typical American gentleman and college President every minute of the time. I could scarcely dissociate him from Eliot,¹ so strong is the similarity of their delivery and manner.

The address itself was a pleasant bit of literature; I do not say "literary effort" because no trace of effort appeared. If I were to criticise, I should say that the elements of study and definiteness were entirely lacking.

On the whole, the new President created a very pleasing impression. After he had finished there was another round of handclapping in which many Republicans joined. In fact, I myself overcame my party prejudices sufficiently to applaud.

I see no reason why President Wilson should not address Congress in person if he so desires. On the other hand, I see no reason why he should desire to do so.

¹ Charles William Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

To HON. WILLIAM H. MOODY¹

Washington, January 6, 1914

MY DEAR PREDECESSOR:

I AM very much ashamed that I did not find time to get to see you before I returned to Washington after election. The fact is, however, that I did not visit Haverhill at all this fall;—not because I was too lazy, but because something always intervened.

Washington seems like a bad dream. Pretty much all the old crowd, men and women, are gone. Smug Democrats everywhere. Even those Democrats whom we used to like are now hard to bear. As for those Democrats whom we could not stand, they are less standable than ever.

Oscar Underwood looks as if he had swallowed a canary. Swagar Sherley² patronizes

¹ Hon. William H. Moody of Haverhill, Member of Congress, Secretary of the Navy, Attorney-General, Justice of the Supreme Court. Died 1917.

² Hon. Swagar Sherley, a prominent Democratic Member of Congress from Kentucky.

Augustus Peabody Gardner

As a Member of Congress

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TO HON. WILLIAM H. MOODY

me as if I were a promising schoolboy, and I have no Nick Longworth¹ to help me snicker behind the backs of the beggars on horseback.

Jim Mann² is an excellent leader. More than half his followers are radical (or feel so at present). Jim is only radical in spots, and not in very many spots at that. Yet you would be surprised to know how much the boys think of him.

Mann fights like a general who cleverly commands a beaten army in retreat. He never unnecessarily exposes his troops on the cold hillside of a Yea and Nay vote, and he succeeds in harassing the enemy not a little. At heart I think that Mann's belief is that the true Republican policy is to mark time until something happens. He might be correct if it were true that the Republican

¹ Hon. Nicholas Longworth, Congressman from Ohio. He had just lost his seat, but came back to Congress two years later.

² Hon. James R. Mann, Republican minority leader from Illinois.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Party is a conservative party, while the Democratic Party and the Progressive Party are radical parties. That is not a correct postulate, however. Moreover, I doubt if it ever becomes so.

How can the Republican Party in the long run be successful as an unmitigated conservative party seeing that circumstances prevent it from availing itself of any conservative force south of Maryland? Personally, I believe that old Disraeli was right, and that statesmanship consists in keeping the party line of demarcation perpendicular instead of horizontal.

Of course, I do not think that the Republican Party can go into an auction in radicalism with the Democrats and Progressives. We should be ridiculous if we tried to beat the others at their own game. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that we make a mistake when we turn the cold cheek of the doctrinaire towards projects which have elsewhere in the world attained at least sufficient suc-

TO HIS DAUGHTER

cess to give their advocates a foothold in argument.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

TO HIS DAUGHTER

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

May 8, 1914

MY DEAR TOOK:

PRAY pardon the familiarity of a comparative stranger who ventures to address you by your sobriquet.

This epistle is indited as an expression of my gratification at the tenor of the communication recently received by your respectable mother from your quondam warbling instructor.

It is, indeed, a satisfaction to a parent to discover, perchance with a trace of bewilderment, that his offspring has elected to avail herself of the opportunities afforded her, and

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

is in no measure to be accounted as of the group which King Lear characterized as more acute than a snake's tusk.

With assurances of my distinguished consideration and unmeasured affection, I am

Your humble servant and father

A. P. GARDNER

III
WAR-TIME ACTIVITIES

To SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE¹

London, England
August 30, 1914

DEAR SPRINGY:

THE day you left here I went down to Speyer Bros. and found them perfectly willing to transfer money to their Frankfort or Berlin houses, provided that the British Government and the German Government both consented. This plan proved too cumbersome, but in the end money was sent through by the British Government to Gerard² for the relief of British subjects. We were able to send the British subscriptions to the Gerard Fund in the care of Julius Lay, just appointed American Consul-General at Berlin. By the way,

¹ Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador to the United States, at this time and until 1918. He died in 1918.

² Hon. J. W. Gerard, American Ambassador to Germany.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Lay has just come from Rio by way of Pernambuco. He and his wife came here on board a British vessel which was held up *en route* by a German cruiser; for some reason, however, the Germans allowed the vessel to proceed.

I have a great deal of respect for Dr. Page's¹ judgment and tact. It seems to me that some day or other he ought to be useful acting as intermediary for peace negotiations.

Of course, there can be no thought of peace at present, but the time is pretty sure to come, and may come sooner than we expect, when a movement for peace suggested from the outside will be reasonably welcomed in the same way that Roosevelt's movement was welcomed in the Russian-Japanese War. As the United States is about the only nation of any account that is not involved in this war, directly or indirectly, it looks to me as if President Wilson might find himself in much the

¹ Hon. Walter H. Page, American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. He died, after resigning his post, early in 1919.

TO SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE

same position that President Roosevelt was in when the Treaty of Peace was concluded at Portsmouth.

I do not believe that there is any man in Europe, or anywhere else, who is in a better position than Dr. Page to keep President Wilson informed as to the situation. Certainly Bryan cannot do so, and I doubt if any of the American Ambassadors and Ministers in Europe, excepting perhaps Herrick,¹ have the capacity. Dr. Page, moreover, is in constant touch with Sir Edward Grey. Likewise, although London is not at present a clearing-house for accurate information, nevertheless, it comes a great deal nearer being a satisfactory clearing-house than any other place in Europe.

I write you all this because I think that somebody ought to talk to President Wilson about Dr. Page and about the necessity of making him a sort of adjutant.

¹ Hon. Myron T. Herrick, at this time American Ambassador to France.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Of course, President Wilson probably knows a great deal more about Dr. Page than you or I do, but he cannot possibly have so good an idea as to just what Dr. Page is doing here in London.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

To His Wife

Hamilton, Mass.

September 25, 1914

DEAR CONSTANCE:

I FEEL like a pig for not having written you since I left London; but I know you will understand how I have been driven.

I hope you will get the enlistment posters. I can assure Colonel Mildmay¹ and the War Office that they will not be criticised, nor will they be used for any unholy purpose.

I had a tremendous reception in Hamilton

¹ Colonel Herbert St. John Mildmay, British Army, retired.

TO HIS WIFE

when I got back. Probably there were 3000 people on hand and George Meyer¹ presided. I talked about the war and announced myself as being very strongly in favor of the Allies. The next day I addressed the Essex County Association of Grand Army Posts and repeated my views. On Monday night I addressed a terrific crowd at Gloucester from an automobile, and once more laid emphasis on the same thing. All this was somewhat risky without first sounding the public sentiment; but I am thankful to say that I found my district enthusiastically with me on the question.²

Your cable of congratulations reached me at five o'clock on Tuesday. Inasmuch as, for the most part, the polls did not close till eight o'clock, I knocked wood at once. The only return which arrived previously to your cable-

¹ Hon. George V. L. Meyer, of Hamilton; Ambassador to Russia and Italy, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy. Died 1918.

² Mr. Gardner only got back from Europe three days before the Republican primaries, where he was a candidate for renomination to Congress.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

gram was the vote in Essex, where I had a preposterously large majority.

The final result for the district was : Gardner, 8015; Andrew,¹ 2004. The most striking results were in Hamilton and Wenham. Hamilton I carried 138 to 1 and Wenham 54 to 0. The latest figures make it seem as if Andrew had lost the Progressive nomination as well.

To His WIFE

Hamilton, Mass.

September 27, 1914

I HAVE not yet told you of my doings since I left you at Euston Square Station.

Horace Washington² met me at Liverpool and took me to see an Armenian woman, in whom I am interested on account of her husband, who is living in Newburyport. She and her baby have been detained in Liverpool nearly a year on account of trachoma.

¹ Colonel A. Piatt Andrew, of Gloucester, who was Mr. Gardner's opponent.

² Horace Lee Washington, American Consul at Liverpool.

TO HIS WIFE

On board the ship were many delightful people who would not have got to know each other under ordinary circumstances; but our natural frigidity had been very much thawed by our European experiences. I should say that pretty nearly half the passengers had been caught in Germany or in Austria when the war broke out. Their experiences were mighty interesting.

For the first few days out many of the passengers were very nervous, especially as we ran with our portholes shrouded at night and did not use the fog-horn even when it was very thick. The ship was very crowded and filthy. Many of the passengers were obliged to sleep in the saloon on account of bedbugs. On the other hand, the food was excellent; something which I fear would not have interested you very much if you had been there, as we had a rough passage.

Personally I was very comfortable, as there were no bugs in the cabin which I shared with a charming Philadelphian. His name is Wilson Eyre and he is an architect.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

The Ambassador asked me to look after Madame Vandervelde, which I did as far as possible; but the poor lady was sick most of the way. She is the wife of the leader of the Socialist Party in Belgium. You may remember that he was made a member of the Ministry at the outbreak of the war. Madame Vandervelde is an Englishwoman by birth, and delighted me by her common sense and the absence of "piffle" from her conversation. She has come to America to raise funds for the relief of the Belgians. We had a first-class concert on board ship to help her out and we raised over \$350. We had three professionals and the rest amateurs. The violinist and the accompanist were both German sympathizers, one of them being of German birth and the other said to be a Jewess. They took the attitude that whoever was in the wrong it certainly was not Belgium, and the ship company very much appreciated their co-operation.

Quite a number of the passengers on board,

TO MRS. —

perhaps a quarter, were German sympathizers. Of course, the race line was indicated; but by no means in every case. The fact is that a good many of the passengers had either been living in Germany or had received kind treatment from the Germans after the war broke out. Of course, it is obvious enough that Germany has made a point of treating Americans well since the first few days of the war, and that policy had its effect on the passengers. It was very noticeable among the children, of whom there were a great many on board. Inasmuch as the game of war was the only one in which the children took any interest, you can imagine that life was a hell for seasick women.

To MRS. —

December 9, 1915

MY DEAR —

• • • • •
I am of the opinion that now is the time for Great Britain to make such concessions to this country as her Government feels are compat-

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

ible with Great Britain's dignity, safety, and obligations to her allies.

I have no doubt whatever that history will draw a very clear distinction between the savagery with which Germany, as we allege, has repeatedly violated our rights as human beings, and the recklessness, as we view it, with which Great Britain has violated our rights as traders. The fact is, however, that we are dealing with the editor struggling with present-day publicity, and not with the future historian in the calm seclusion of his study. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that for the past sixteen months the American people have been regaled with nothing except startling headlines and superlatives. The period in which we could view the international situation with a discriminating eye has passed. Nowadays, we apply the word "outrage" to wholesale murder, and we apply the same word to the adverse proceedings of a prize court. We use the expression "intolerable affront" when we describe an explosion in a powder plant,

TO MRS. —

and we apply exactly the same epithet to a recruiting informality of some British Consul. In short, it is really a psychological rather than a material atmosphere which envelops our relations with Great Britain. The British Nation has always shown itself better fitted to deal with a state of facts rather than with a state of mind. Nevertheless, I feel that the time has come when it is imperative that an effort be made to embrace within the scope of Great Britain's vision both the material and the psychological aspects of the situation.

The other day a friend of mine, a man in public life, said to me: "What makes us angry is that Great Britain's course somehow or other puts on the defensive all of us who are her friends. Hardly a day passes without the addition of another pin prick inflicted by some over-zealous British subordinate." Of course, you and I know perfectly well that every irritating British act is magnified a hundredfold through the medium of the intelligent German press campaign. Nevertheless,

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

whatever the explanation, the same result is being attained as if each sting were devised with the express purpose of exasperating us.

I have known so many Englishmen that I have no hesitation in prophesying the first remark which will be called forth if this letter is ever read by one of your British friends. With a good deal of certainty I predict that he will say, “If those damn Yankees think that we are going to acknowledge ourselves in the wrong, when, as a matter of fact, we know that we are in the right, they will find themselves very much mistaken.” On reconsideration I hope that this primary opinion may be modified so as to permit an expression somewhat as follows: “After all, what is the use of behaving like a hedge-hog. We British may be right; in fact, we probably are right; but is it not the part of wisdom to help our American friends apply a gag to our American enemies?”

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

TO HIS DAUGHTER

To His DAUGHTER

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

January 2, 1916

MY VERY DEAR CONNIE:

I AM quite crazy about you. Your collection of German war trophies was just exactly what I wanted, as you know. Furthermore, you must have taken a lot of trouble. I shall wear the U-9 ribbon when I go in swimming with the Springy¹ children next summer. It will please their Pa!

I have just got back from Boston and during my stay in that neighborhood I came to the conclusion that the Roosevelt boom is getting under way again, probably without his consent.

For a guess the nomination will lie between Hughes and Roosevelt. I wish I knew something about Hughes. All I know is that he wears a beard and stopped horse-racing in New York. Neither circumstance appeals to

¹ The children of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER
me. The machine is getting ready to nominate Hughes.

Your devoted father

A. P. G.

To LORD EUSTACE PERCY¹

Washington, D.C.

February 16, 1916

MY DEAR LORD EUSTACE:

I WAS very much interested in your letter of January 20th, although I am not quite sure that I get your point of view. When I wrote to Mrs.——, other matters as well as the Blockade question were working in my mind.

At present both Houses of Congress are very silent on the European situation. At any moment, however, there is likely to be an outbreak.

When you see Lord Bryce,² I wish that you

¹ Lord Eustace Percy, an *attaché* at Washington with Lord Bryce, and son of the Duke of Northumberland.

² Lord Bryce, formerly Hon. James Bryce and Ambassador at Washington.

TO COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT

would remember me to him. Life in Washington, both to him and to you, must seem like a memory of the dim past. Even to me it seems a long time since you were Scout Master in this town.

Sincerely yours:

A. P. GARDNER

To COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Hamilton, Mass.

August 22, 1916

MY DEAR COLONEL ROOSEVELT:

I do not know your views as to the merits of the questions involved between the railroad men and their employers. Personally, I do not know whether the railroad men ought to be paid more or not; but I am quite sure that President Wilson is not stating the issue correctly, and I am very much afraid that he is getting away with his misstatements. If I understand the situation aright, the question of eight hours as the maximum work-day is not involved. The men are not contending for any

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

change of their hours of labor. They are merely contending for a new basis for their computation of pay, and they propose to retain their privilege of working overtime precisely as it stands at present.¹

There is another matter in this campaign which I think needs attention. Mr. Hughes was inaccurate in his statement of fact relative to Mr. Tittman, Chief of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Whether or not he was right about the 104 Civil Service exemptions in this same service, I do not know. Now, I am under no illusions about the public interest in the Classified Civil Service. The only political advantage which Mr. Hughes gains in his attacks lies in the fact that President Wilson has always assumed the virtuous pose with regard to the public service. On the other hand, I con-

¹ The first paragraph of this letter, referring to the railroad difficulties of that time, was occasioned by the fact that the Adamson Bill was then before Congress. This sinister measure was passed and became the so-called "Adamson Law"; but it is needless to say that Mr. Gardner voted against it.

TO COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT

sider it of vital importance for every candidate for public office, and in fact for every legislator, to get the reputation of presenting nothing but impregnable facts. The reason why I bring this matter to your attention is because I have heard that Mr. Hughes is going to make an attack on Secretary Daniels. I do hope that Willcox ¹ will prevent him from taking his information from the wrong people. I am quite positive that a number of men of considerable repute, who from time to time give out statements with regard to the Army and Navy, are absolutely incorrect in their facts. My recollection is that I noticed a recent statement of Mr. Hughes himself with regard to the strength of the Regular Army, which showed that he had been given confusing information in which "minimum strength" and "peace strength" had been mixed up.

If I were Mr. Willcox, I should suggest to Mr. Hughes that he make no statement about

¹ Mr. William Willcox, campaign manager for Mr. Hughes.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER
the Navy until he has the citations, book and
page, instantly available on his desk.

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

To FINLEY PETER DUNNE, Esq.¹

August 30, 1916

MY DEAR PETER:

I AM sending you herewith part of the *Congressional Record* for August 22d and August 25th. You will find the actual hits made in Day Individual Battle Practice this spring in the table given in the *Record* of August 25th. These are exactly the figures assigned by the umpire on the spot. You will observe that in the case of the *Kansas*, *Louisiana*, *Virginia*, and *Rhode Island*, the figures which you published in *Collier's* of August 5th are exactly correct. In the case of the *Nebraska*, however, you credited that ship with one more hit than the umpire gave her, and you credited the *New Jersey* with three less

¹ F. P. Dunne, creator of "Mr. Dooley." At the date of this letter an editorial writer for *Collier's Weekly*.

TO FINLEY PETER DUNNE, ESQ.

hits than the umpire reckoned. Now, turn to the *Record* of August 22d, first column, and you will find the record of shots fired in Day Individual Battle Practice. In *Collier's* of August 5th, you debit each of the ships with 126 shots. Evidently, this is an error; but, after all, it is a very small error, inasmuch as each of the vessels whose scores you quoted fired 105 shots or more. Combining the figures in the *Record* of August 22d and the figures in the *Record* of August 25th, we find the following results of Day Individual Battle Practice this spring, as allowed by the umpire on the spot (before camera corrections were made in the Navy Department):

	Shots		Hits	
	Daniels	Collier's	Daniels	Collier's
Nebraska	115	126	9	10
Kansas.....	105	126	5	5
Louisiana	107	126	10	10
Virginia.....	120	126	12	12
New Jersey.....	112	126	16	13
Rhode Island ...	114	126	1	1

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

I am sorry that my figures were not exact. I had them verified as best I could. At all events, they are not very far out of the way.

I wish you would particularly note the results of Division Practice to be found in the *Record* of August 22d, second column. They are particularly astounding, especially in the case of the *Nebraska* and *Michigan*. The *Congressional Record* shows a dash opposite each of these names instead of a zero which was the actual score. This latter fact I have verified by consulting Admiral Benson, Acting Secretary of the Navy. It appears that the original letter from Secretary Daniels, which is reproduced in the *Congressional Record* of August 22d, shows zeros opposite the names of the *Michigan* and *Nebraska*.

I have read Henry Reuterdahl's letter to you, of which the following criticisms are to be made:

1. Commenting on Mr. Reuterdahl's statement as to the forty per cent improvement

TO FINLEY PETER DUNNE, ESQ.

in Elementary Target Practice, the Elementary Target Practice in 1914 was very bad. I have not read the original of Admiral Mayo's report; but my impression is that he declared that the Elementary Target Practice of 1915 (not 1914) had improved forty per cent. At all events, here is an extract from the testimony of Captain Sims,¹ March 10, 1916 (page 2671, Hearings):

CAPTAIN SIMS—Now, as a matter of fact, the target practice of last fall, although forty per cent better than the target practice of the fall before, is still unsatisfactory to a very considerable degree. It ought to be about double; and Admiral Mayo, who is in charge of the drilling and target practice of the battleships, has so stated in his report, which you can get by referring to the Navy Department.

Mr. Reuterdahl has probably overlooked the fact that Elementary Target Practice was restored under Meyer² in the fall of 1912, Secretary Daniels to the contrary notwithstanding.

¹ Now Admiral Sims.

² G. v. L. Meyer; in 1912 Secretary of the Navy under President Taft.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

standing. I have this statement in writing from a gunnery expert of the Navy, and I believe it to be correct; but of course, am not in a position to prove it.

2. It is true that Secretary Daniels published the gradings under the Mayo scale. It is also true that this was only done after Senator Lodge had got a Resolution through the Senate demanding it. If these ratings were published previous to Senator Lodge's Resolution, that fact escaped my notice.

3. The mere fact that our gunnery experts consider our target practice satisfactory is by no means convincing. In 1914, in Elementary Practice, the $13\frac{1}{2}$ inch guns of the British Battle Cruiser Fleet scored 85.43 per cent of hits. Our Elementary Practice has never approached that figure. As to the percentage of hits in the various battles of this war, we really know very little about the facts. In the Dogger Bank battle, the official report leads me to believe that both sides expended a lot of ammunition at almost impos-

TO HIS DAUGHTER

sible ranges on the chance of disabling the adversary by a lucky hit.

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

To His DAUGHTER

New York, N.Y.
October 29, 1916

DEAREST CONNIE:

I AM here on a speaking tour of New York and New Jersey. The election looks to be a pretty close thing, which makes me shudder. I never in my life cared one tenth as much as I do this year about anything political. If Wilson is elected, it will mean nothing more nor less than the triumph of pusillanimity, your ambassador to the contrary notwithstanding.¹

I expect a pretty fair majority, although I voted against the Adamson Bill and there is a big labor vote in my district. My opponent, Arthur Howard, has not as yet attacked me on my pro-Ally rampage. Hence I think

¹ Hon. James W. Gerard, American Ambassador in Berlin.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

that my stand is fairly popular in my district. . . .

I do *not* expect Hughes to get the hyphen vote. I think Bernstorff is for Wilson.

To COLONEL ROOSEVELT

Hamilton, Mass.

November 10, 1916

MY DEAR COLONEL:

I DON'T know how far you are committed to the "League to Enforce Peace"! but I wish you would read the enclosed speech and write me your criticisms.

Evidently a vast amount of money is being spent on this propaganda. The purpose of it all seems to be to persuade the American people that nations with great military strength, little land, and no money will be willing to enter into an agreement for the purpose of protecting from war the United States, which has no military strength, boundless land, and untold money.

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

TO COLONEL ROOSEVELT

To COLONEL ROOSEVELT

Hamilton, Mass.

November 14, 1916

MY DEAR COLONEL:

I AM in receipt of your letter of November 11th, marked "Private" with two exclamation points. It is now ashes, so it will meet the eyes of no one.

In case you care for my opinion as to the late campaign, it is as follows: If the rest of our side had struck the same note as you struck, we should have won hands down. The note struck by you and your followers, in whom I include Bird,¹ Lodge, and myself, was the only feature which distinguished the Republican campaign from a feeble echo of the Democratic campaign.

Sincerely yours

A. P. GARDNER

Hon. Charles Sumner Bird, of Massachusetts.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

To His DAUGHTER

Hamilton, Mass.

November 15, 1916

DEAR CONNIE:

ELECTIONS are horrid things. I just paid a bet which I lost by Hughes' defeat. I am quite convinced that he could have won if the Republican Party had made its fight along Roosevelt's line of attack: to wit, Wilson's tremulous foreign policy.

My own campaign I fought on exactly those lines. I linked Wilson with King Constantine, who likewise kept his country out of war, and I contrasted the pair with Lincoln and King Albert, both of whom plunged their country into war. I was bitterly criticised. It was said that I was clamoring for a break with Germany, which is practically true. I was accused of a desire to force this country into war, which is not true. But, when the votes were counted I had 21,905 votes against my Democratic opponent's 8563 votes. I exceeded my plurality of two years ago by

TO HIS DAUGHTER

over 1100 votes. I had the biggest plurality of any Congressman from Massachusetts. I ran 10,000 votes ahead of Hughes in this district and 7000 votes ahead of McCall.¹ All of which I write you not out of vanity; but because I believe that my vote indicates that hereabouts the pro-Ally sentiment is deep and strong while the pro-Boche sentiment is weak and noisy.

We have eight little pigs on one of which I hope to give Thanks. Over another of them I hope to throw lip at Xmastide.

Biddle's² two surviving puppies are thriving. All of these details I send you by way of a lure to the tempting domesticity of Sagamore Farm. Beleaguered as you are in Berlin, the only effect which I produce on you is likely to be a sensation of hunger.

¹ Hon. Samuel W. McCall, at that time Governor of Massachusetts.

² Biddle is a dog.

IV

THE ARMY AGAIN

To His Wife

Headquarters Eastern Department

Governor's Island, New York City

May 25, 1917

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

“BACK to the Army again, Sergeant.” I believe that I take to the red tape of the Adjutant’s Office as a duck takes to water.

I have a room at the Officers’ Club here on the Island. At the present moment there is a hop going on and the musicians’ gallery is just outside my bedroom door. Consequently I have retired to the silence of the Adjutant’s Office.

I don’t believe that I shall leave this Island much, as the conditions here are good for work and health. At my age I have n’t much chance of getting anywhere except by work or wire-pulling.

TO HIS WIFE

To His Wife

Hotel Dempsey, Macon, Georgia

August 28, 1917

DEAREST CONSTANCE :

THANK you so much for your letter. As you will see from the heading I am still at a hotel; but I move into camp tomorrow. There are no troops here as yet, except a few camp guards, etc. We are supposed to have a division of 24,000 men or thereabouts; but as a matter of fact there are (confidentially) only 14,000 National Guardsmen left available in the three States of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Unless we fill up with drafted men I don't know what we can do.

I have six civilian clerks, all inexperienced. It has been pretty hard work; but the office is now running pretty well. Strange to say, it is cool here at night on account of the elevation. Atlanta is even cooler.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

To His WIFE

Atlanta, Georgia

September 23, 1917

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I HAVE been recommended as one of the officers to be sent to France for instruction in General Staff work. I have some doubts whether the War Department will act formally, however, as I have a little too much rank. However, it is a great compliment to be picked by the Division Commander.

I shall, of course, wire you if I get my orders.

I am up here for a day to see the drafted men come in to Camp Gordon. Their spirit is fine and they impress me very favorably. Camp Gordon is a wonderfully elaborate wooden city. I believe it is said to have cost \$4,000,000 to build. The newcomers are being handled admirably without confusion.

Georgia certainly has changed a lot. This city might be in New Jersey, and Macon like-

TO HIS WIFE

wise. They are not nice and old-fashioned like South Carolina cities.

Occasionally, but not often, I see an officer (regular) whom I have known before; but ordinarily nothing but strangers, mostly Southerners. There are a few Massachusetts officers at Macon whom I know, Major Keenan¹ in command of the Ambulance Section. Captain Warren, of Boston, with whom I went to Sunday-School at Emmanuel Church, and Captain Tandy, who has left us and sailed with General Edwards'² Division. Alty Morgan's son is here at Camp Gordon. That about ends the list.

I like the far-southern enlisted men very much. Our troops came from Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. Many of our Reserve officers are from Tennessee.

¹ Now Colonel George F. Keenan, 1919.

² Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, who commanded the 26th (Yankee) Division in France.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

To His Wife

Headquarters Thirty-First Division

Camp Wheeler, Ga.

October 6, 1917

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

I AM taking my inoculation for typhoid and para-typhoid, which is necessary in case anything occurs along the line which I told you about in a recent letter.

My first dose did not bother me at all, and I felt as well as could be the next day. The second dose has made me feel pretty seedy; but the disagreeable effects will be gone tomorrow.

It is extraordinary how cold the weather has been. I went up to Atlanta this last week, where the elevation is somewhat higher, and was cold in bed with two light blankets and a heavy army coat over me. By the way, the heavy army coat belonged to E. D. Morgan, Jr., who is an aide on General Swift's staff. I suspect you know him; you certainly know his father, Alty Morgan.

TO HIS WIFE

The Captain of the Headquarters Troop at Camp Gordon, Atlanta, is a son of Charlie Choate.¹ You remember that his father and mother were married the same day that we were. He is a splendid-looking young fellow, and the officers at Headquarters told me he was very efficient. He came to Fort McPherson at the same time as Harold Blanchard,² unless I am mistaken.

TO HIS WIFE

*Headquarters Thirty-First Division
Camp Wheeler, Ga.*
October 22, 1917

DEAR CONSTANCE:

ABOUT 6500 drafted men have been sent to this division. When all the drafted men who are due have arrived, the division will still be 5000 short or thereabouts. The situation is just this: The War Department started out counting on organizing, from the States of

¹ Charles F. Choate, of Boston. Lawyer.

² Now Lieutenant-Colonel Harold Blanchard; D.S.C., and *Croix de Guerre* with palm.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, a National Guard division of 26,000-odd men and a National Army division of the same size of white drafted men.

The fact was, however, that there were only 14,500 National Guardsmen altogether in the three States named. Of this number 3500 were taken for the so-called Rainbow Division, leaving 11,000 for us. There were still supposed to be over 20,000 drafted white men who could be called upon to fill out gaps; but the 20,000 has dwindled down to 9500. The sum and substance of it all is: three States which were expected to form two divisions, in reality are able to form a good deal less than a single division.

The drafted troops last week came largely from the 82d Division at Camp Gordon. Who should turn up in command of a train load of them but Harold Blanchard ! I was standing on a table in the warehouse where the newcomers were being assigned when I heard a familiar voice address me as Colonel.

TO HIS WIFE

I had not the slightest idea that Harold was within a thousand miles; I had supposed, of course, that he was at Camp Devens. I have been over to Camp Gordon twice without seeing him or hearing of him, and yet it appears that he has been there for two months commanding a battalion of the 324th Infantry. He dined at the mess here and returned to Atlanta at once. He is looking well. Of course he was sure to be a good soldier.

To His Wife

*Headquarters Thirty-First Division
Camp Wheeler, Ga.*

October 29 – November 5, 1917

MY DEAR CONSTANCE:

My tent has gradually converted itself into a house with a canvas roof. The walls have been boarded up from the floor until they reach the eaves. A wooden extension has grown up behind, and in it is a stove, and above the stove is a glass window. What with wooden shelves

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

running around three sides, and a wooden floor and a wooden platform in front, together with electric lights, I hardly feel as if it were a tent at all.

There has been a great deal of pneumonia in camp and nearly everybody has had a cold. The weather has been very cold and many of the soldiers have insufficient equipment. The drafted men are still coming in, but there is no prospect, at present, of a division at full strength.

In the *strictest confidence* we have our orders to sail in December (date unknown). When we move I shall, of course, be with the troops every minute unless we are concentrated at Tenafly, New Jersey, or something of the sort. I do not know whether or not we sail from New York. It may be necessary for you to come to me to say Good-bye; but I can tell you more about it later.

Your letter of November 2d here just now. I do not know whether I am glad to go. I try not to reckon in the old terms of thought

Augustus Peabody Gardner

At Camp Wheeler, Macon, Georgia, November, 1917



TO HON. JOSEPH P. TUMULTY

until the war is over. I hope I am ready for anything.

To Hon. Joseph P. Tumulty

[In May, 1917, just before Major Gardner was sworn into the service of the United States, we met Mr. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, at luncheon. He and Major Gardner had some talk, and finally Mr. Tumulty said that if at any time Major Gardner had occasion to express his views, otherwise than through military channels, he wished that the Major would write to him. The understanding was that any letter written under such circumstances would be brought to the attention of the Administration.

After Major Gardner's death I found the following letter, a carbon copy of the original, in his files. I need hardly say that it has never before been made public.—C. G.]

December 1, 1917

DEAR MR. TUMULTY:

BEFORE I left Washington you suggested to me at Mrs. McLean's that I should write you if I felt that there was any occasion to express my views otherwise than through military channels.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

Taking advantage of this suggestion I am writing you a few words about health conditions and the Base Hospital at Camp Wheeler.

The danger is that some one may be dealt with unjustly and be loaded with the responsibility for a situation over which he had no control whatever.

There have been 100 deaths from pneumonia and 11 deaths from other causes at this camp. Of this number 96 have occurred within the last three weeks. To my mind the explanation is fairly simple. The following are the conditions as I see them:

Between October 16th and 30th, we received about 10,000 drafted men from Camp Gordon, Camp Pike, and Camp Jackson. With the exception of about 3000 from Camp Pike, they came without overcoats, in cotton outer garments, and cotton underclothes; some without blouses. None of them had had experience in sleeping out of doors and none were accustomed to camping out. They went from their homes in September to the Na-

TO HON. JOSEPH P. TUMULTY

tional Army cantonment, where they were housed in warmed barracks. From these cantonments they came here without any toughening; arrived in camp when cold weather prevailed and where the air in the tents was damp at night; with spirits depressed and all the feeling of strangeness which tends to reduce a man's vitality. Being from rural areas, many had never had measles, and this disease spread rapidly. Better soil in which to sow the seeds of pneumonia could not be imagined.

The Base Hospital at Camp Wheeler is calculated for 500 patients, and over three times this number of sick men was of necessity thrust upon it. It is true that the bulk of the cases were cases of measles; but measles is a disease by no means to be treated lightly under these circumstances. For a while the number of nurses was entirely insufficient, and of course there was the confusion and deficiency incident to a contingency not foreseen when the Base Hospital was designed. A

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER

glance at the consolidated clothing and equipment chart of this division for October 30th in my mind is a good deal more enlightening than reams of reports. The enlisted strength of the division on October 30th was 18,155 men. At that time there had been issued to the command warm clothing as follows:

Overcoats	9,952
Woolen breeches	4,592
Woolen coats	3,900
Woolen drawers	3,873
Woolen undershirts	3,675

I no more blame the Quartermaster-General than I blame the authorities in this camp. The fact is that the industries of this country were not in shape to turn out woolen clothing fast enough. That is about all there is to it. I suppose that many people believe that these long delays in furnishing supplies are due to "red tape." Undoubtedly "red tape" has something to do with it. In our endeavors to enforce economy and prevent speculation, we have thrown so many legislative and regulative safeguards and counterchecks

TO HIS WIFE

around expenditures that we have emphatically retarded action.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours

A. P. GARDNER

Adjutant-General

Division Adjutant

P.S. Any one who supposes this part of Georgia to be warm is very much mistaken.

To His Wife

Camp Wheeler, Ga.

December 27, 1917

DEAREST CONSTANCE:

YOUR bully Christmas present¹ came today and I am proudly wearing it at the present moment. It is a beauty, and I much prefer a pigskin strap.

How I should have loved to be with you on Christmas. Think of us with a brace of grandchildren on our hands! Well, here's

¹ A wrist watch.

LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER
hoping that next Christmas will find us all together.

I have been having a good deal of difficulty with my Battalion, owing to absences without leave and one cause or another. The fact is that there has been no Major on duty with my four companies for some time past, practically speaking.

This is one of my best personal efforts on a typewriter, so no army field clerk is admitted to our secrets.

To His DAUGHTER

121st Infantry, U. S. Camp Wheeler, Ga.
December 28, 1917

DEAREST CONNIE:

THINK of you with a brace of Kids.¹ Why, you ridiculous person! You are not old enough to be married even.

I have shifted over to the Infantry, as you probably know. It is a good deal better job

¹ His daughter's second child was two weeks old at this date.

TO HIS DAUGHTER

to be in command of men than to be in command of basketsful of papers. However, to lose two grades in seven months is going some.

When we shall get away is a puzzle. We are over 5000 men short of a full division and no new men coming, owing to the fact that we have been infected with measles and pneumonia rampant.

Good-bye and God bless you and yours,
Connie.

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